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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of the present investigation is to study the relation between maternal communication and the child's resistance to temptation during an experimental task, among Italian and Canadian families. The nature of maternal communication was assessed by analyzing the verbal behavior of the mother while in discussion with her child. A series of mother-child pairs were given three experimental tasks which required that mother and child reach a concensus. The tasks were designed so as to stimulate discussion between mother and child, as well as to provide the mother with an opportunity to exercise her authority over her child. The discussions between mother and child were analyzed according to a schema based on the assumption that there are four basic functions of human speech: to teach, to please, to demand, and to defend oneself. An additional purpose of the study was to determine the relationship between the nature of maternal and paternal control and the child's resistance to temptation. The extent and nature of familial control was assessed by means of a questionnaire which was filled out by the child. Positive control is defined as the encouragement of the child to feel some responsibility toward some positively defined goal. Negative control is defined as a barrier, limitation, or restriction imposed by the parent on the child's activities. (Author/JM)

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A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESISTANCE TO TEMPTATION AND MATERNAL COMMUNICATION[1]

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A. INTRODUCTION

1. Parental Correlates of Resistance to Temptation

This investigation focuses on the study of the relationship between maternal communication and resistance to temptation in the child, among Canadian and Italian families. The term temptation is used here to refer to a type of conflict where a choice must be made between a) conformity to some socially expected role behavior and nonattainment of a goal, and b) nonconformity and attainment of a goal. In this investigation the type of resistance to temptation studied was conformity to the rules of a game.

The degree to which parents place demands and restrictions on the child in a broad grouping of task areas, and insist on compliance to these demands and restrictions, has been found to form a global dimension useful in describing parent-role behavior. Generally, the results of experiments dealing with parental correlates of resistance to temptation support the common sense notion that restrictive discipline fosters inhibited and rule-conforming behaviors and, permissive discipline fosters more uninhibited behaviors. For example,in an early study, Symonds (27) found that children of dominating parents were better socialized, more courteous and more obedient than were children of submissive (permissive) parents. Dominance in this study was defined as use of much control, criticism, and, restrictiveness. Submission consisted in giving freedom to the child and acceding to his demands.

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More recent research suggests that "heavy" socialization pressures, as exemplified by severe weaning and extended toilet training, lead to high resistance to temptation in boys (6). Further research has shown that a mother's highly controlling attitude toward her child is associated with high resistance to temptation in the child (29). Moreover, evidence from studies on delinquents strongly suggests that noncompliant and poorly controlled behavior occurs where minimal controls or restrictions are exerted by the parent on the child (4, 18).

Additional research has focused on the relationship between resistance to temptation in the child and, love-oriented and power-assertive techniques of discipline employed by the parent. Love-oriented techniques have generally included the use of reasoning and praise on the positive side and, negative methods such as isolating the child from the parent and showing disappointment. Power-assertive techniques, on the other hand, have typically included physical punishment, forceful commands and verbal threats. Studies on the relationship between use of these techniques and resistance to temptation have generally yielded equivocal results. For example, some studies report that higher resistance to temptation was positively associated with use of physical punishment and negatively associated with use of reasoning (6, 17). Other studies have shown a positive correlation between the use of praise and reasoning and resistance to temptation (2, 14, 26). The results of the latter studies suggest that when the parent has given the child his rationale for exacting certain behaviors from him, the child is likely to conform to parental expectations because he believes that there is good reason to do so. Contradictory results in these studies are not surprising in view of the global

nature of "techniques" of discipline which may vary simultaneously along more than one dimension, such as, a) amount of reasoning and, b) extent of commands, employed by the mother. In the present study, each of these variables is assessed independently of one another by analysis of maternal verbal communication with the child. The relationship between maternal verbal communication and resistance to temptation in the child is investigated.

This study also examines the relationship between sex of the child and resistance to temptation. While there is some evidence that girls resist temptation more than boys (15), several studies report that resistance to temptation does not vary with the sex of the child (6, 13, 28).

2. Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Parental Control

One of the reported differences between the Italian and the North American parent in their behavior with their children is that the Italian parent is stricter than the North American parent. Evidence based on interviews that were administered to parents in Sicily and Illinois, suggest that Italian parents differ from parents in the United States mainly in the greater severity of control which they exercise over their children (21). Additional findings suggest that the Italian parent is more authoritarian than the North American parent. The results of interviews given to parents of the working-class in Turin, Italy (north part of Italy) and in Washington, D.C. indicate that parents in Italy value obedience in their children more than do parents in the United States (20). The results further show that Italian parental values seem more adult-centered, emphasizing the child's conformity to adult standards, while American parents' values are more child-centered, emphasizing the child's own development and gratification. It appears then that

regardless of place of origin in Italy (north and south)[3], working-class parents emphasize the child's conformity to adult standards. Further, since the Italian mother appears to be stricter, more authoritarian and less concerned with the child's own development than the North American mother, it is expected that the Italian mother will rely more on commands and less on reasoning than the North American mother in communicating with her child.

3. Methodological Considerations in the Study of Maternal Communication

Typically, in the past, measures of parental control have been based on data obtained in interviews, questionnaires and case histories which are all subject to erroneous and selective recall (23, 32) as well as interviewer and respondent biases (24). An alternative method to recording what a parent says he does vis-a-vis his child, is to observe and record the parent's behavior while interacting with the child under controlled experimental conditions. Direct observation has been employed in a number of investigations to study interaction in the family (7, 11, 12, 16, 30). One of the assumptions underlying these studies is that inferences about parental control of the child's behavior can be made from observations of the parent's behavior while interacting with the child. Similarly, verbal behavior, or communication of the mother while interacting with her child should reflect, to a large extent, the amount and kind of control she exerts on her child.

While there have been major attempts to develop construct-related category systems for studying communication within a group, most of these have focused on the psychotherapeutic situation (9, 10). Bales (3) has developed one of the most comprehensive systems using twelve categories for rating communication between persons involved in group discussion. Some of

Bales' categories are, "gives suggestions", "gives orientation", "agrees". Bales has used these categories to test various hypotheses about behavior within problem-solving groups. For example, discussions tend to proceed through stages from orientation to group cohesiveness. While these categories may represent some of the formal dimensions of behavior in small groups, their use in the analysis of maternal control of the child's behavior would be limited since they do not allow for the measurement of significant aspects of the quality of the control exerted by the mother. For example, the category "gives suggestions", one of the few categories dealing with manipulative behavior, does not distinguish the differential bases on which the mother legitimizes her authority when interacting with the child - a significant dimension of maternal behavior noted by investigators when they distinguish between authority which inheres in reasoned principles and authority which inheres purely in commands (5, 25).

4. <u>The Present Study</u>

The primary purpose of the present investigation is to study the relationship between maternal communication and the child's resistance to temptation during an experimental task, among Italian and Canadian families. The nature of maternal communication was assessed by analyzing the verbal behavior of the mother while in discussion with her child. A series of mother-child pairs were given 3 experimental tasks which required that mother and child reach a consensus. The tasks were designed so as to stimulate discussion between mother and child, as well as to provide the mother with an opportunity to exercise her authority over her child. One of the assumptions underlying the design of the experimental tasks is that the discussions reflect established patterns of interactions between mother and child as well

as established patterns of maternal control. While some investigators argue that one cannot make valid inferences about the structure of a family without weeks or months of observation of a family in a variety of settings, according to Pittenger (22), a great deal of significant data are provided by observing families interacting over a period of a few minutes.

The discussions between mother and child were analyzed according to the schema set down in the manual, Verbal Exchange Analysis (8). The initial framework for the classification of utterances in this coding schema is based on the assumption that there are 4 basic functions of human speech: to teach, or simply to convey information; to please (evaluations); to move others to action (demands) and, to defend oneself (justifications). Only utterances within the latter two categories are relevant to the present investigation.

Demands are conceptualized as statements motivated by the desire to move others to action. They include all questions and commands. An imperative is a demand which orders someone to do something. It may be either an unconditional order in which case it is a direct imperative or, a conditional order in which case it is an indirect imperative. For instance, "Take this one if you want it", is an example of an indirect imperative. A request is a demand which may take one of two forms: it may be a request for orientation or a request for confirmation. A request for orientation may seek a) information or evaluation about a stimulus event or a response and, b) justification for a response previously made to the stimulus material. A request may also seek confirmation for a response previously made to the stimulus material. For instance, "Don't you think this is right?" is an example of a request for confirmation.

A second major category relevant here includes justificatory statements

which are distinguished on the basis of their cognitive content. They may take the form of appeals which are a) concrete and where justification is based on characteristics of the situation or event and, b) normative where justification for a response relies on norms or rules which are based either on the speaker's personal characteristics or on more general prescriptions.

An additional purpose of the present investigation is to study the relationship between the nature of maternal and paternal control and, the child's resistance to temptation. The extent and nature of familial control was assessed by means of a questionnaire (C scale) which was filled out by the child. This questionnaire consists of a set of subscales designed to measure, among other things, the degree to which the mother and father exerted positive and negative control of the child's behavior. Positive control is defined as the encouragement of the child to feel some responsibility toward some positively defined goal, such as, helping around the house, keeping things in order, etc. Negative control is defined as a barrier, limitation or restriction imposed by the parent on the child's activities, such as, choosing the child's clothes and friends, etc.

B, METHOD

1. Subjects

The subjects were 62 Catholic mother-child pairs in which all children were 9 or 10 years old. Of the 62 mothers, 32 were Italian-born women living in Canada - 17 of them were studied with their sons and 15 were studied with their daughters. The remaining 30 mothers were Canadian-born women of non-Italian descent - one-half of them was studied with their sons and the other half with their daughters. All of the children attended grade 4 at Catholic parochial schools.

Approximately one-half of the Italian mothers and fathers came from the south of Italy, some came from the central part of Italy (Rome being considered the most southern part of central Italy) and, a few came from the north of Italy. Most of the Italian mothers and fathers lived in villages in Italy where the fathers were typically employed as craftsmen or laborers. In Canada, most of the Italian fathers were employed as skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled laborers as well as craftsmen and maintenance workers and, in terms of Warner and Lunt's (31) classification of socio-economic levels, would be upper-lower or working-class. The mean number of years of education for the Italian parent was approximately 4 and the mean number of years of residence in Canada for the Italian parent was 13. All of the Canadian mothers were born in Canada and most of them were born in Ontario - none of the mothers were from Quebec. All of the mothers were of Anglo-Saxon parentage, that is, their grandparents were from England, Ireland, or Scotland. Approximately one-half of the Canadian mothers and fathers was from a big city and the other half was from a small city or village. Most of the Canadian fathers were members of the working-class and some of them, the lower-middle class. The mean number of years of education for both Canadian parents was approximately 10.

2. Procedure

The experiment was conducted in the York Mobile Laboratory[4] which was parked in the school yard. Mother and child were asked to come to the Mobile Laboratory together. Each child was asked to play a game individually in which his degree of resistance to temptation was assessed. In addition, the child was asked to fill out the C scale which consisted of a number of items which measured, among other things, the degree to which each of his parents

exerted positive and negative control of his behavior. The mother was asked a series of questions designed to provide background information on the parent's origins in Italy, where applicable, father's occupation, number of years of education, etc. Each mother-child pair was given 3 experimental discussion tasks which required that they engage in discussion in order to reach a consensus. Direct observation of these discussions was employed in order to obtain measures of maternal communication with the child.

a. Experimental test of resistance to temptation. The experimenter seated the child in front of a table on which she placed a bristol board displaying 95 squares or steps. The table was attached to a wall which displayed a one-way mirror immediately above the table. All of the squares on the board were white with the exception of the squares numbered 50, 65, 80 and 95 which were red, blue, silver and gold, respectively. The subject was then offered a choice of one of 6 small wooden figures, the base of which fitted within the step size and, the experimenter instructed him to place the figure on square number one, the starting square. The experimenter gave the subject a die and explained that he was required to throw the die only 20 times - once for each trial. Each time the subject threw the die he was to record, on a score sheet, the number which appeared on the upper surface of the die and then move the wooden figure the same number of steps along the board. The experimenter explained that the object of the game was to get high numbers on each throw so that the wooden figure could be moved as far along the board as possible. The subject was told that he could win a star depending upon how far along the board he could move the wooden figure. The subject would receive a red star if he could move the figure 50 squares, a blue star if he could move the figure 65 squares, a silver star for moving

the figure 80 squares and, a gold star for moving the figure 95 squares. It was emphasized in the instructions that the gold star was the most difficult to win and, that the subject would be a grand winner if he could get a gold star. The game was designed so that the probability of reaching the gold star with only 20 throws of the die was extremely low. Therefore, in order to reach the gold star, it was necessary for the subject not to conform to the rules of the game, i.e. to cheat in order to win the gold star. The experimenter then asked, and subsequently recorded, the number of steps the subject estimated that he would be able to move the wooden figure (level of aspiration).[5] The experimenter explained that she had some work to do in the next room and that the subject would have to play the game alone. The subject was instructed to knock on the door when he had completed playing the game.

The experimenter went into the next room and sat in front of the one-way mirror which enabled her to observe the subject while playing the game without the subject's knowledge. The experimenter recorded the actual numbers which the subject obtained by throwing the die 20 times.[6] She also recorded all of the subject's behaviors which did not conform to the rules of the game. In a pilot study conducted earlier, it was found that when subjects did not conform to the rules of the game, or cheated in order to move the wooden figure farther along the board, they did so in one or more of 8 different ways. Some of these included moving the wooden figure more steps than the number obtained by throwing the die, placing the die on the table with a high number on the upper surface and then moving the wooden figure the same number of steps, throwing the die more than once for a given trial and recording the higher number of the two and then moving the wooden figure the

same number of steps, etc. After the subject had completed playing the game, he knocked on the door and, the experimenter entered the room and gave the subject a star whose color was determined by the distance that the subject had moved the wooden figure along the board. In the postexperimental inquiry, the experimenter asked the subject if he had found the game to be easy or difficult to play and, whether he had done anything that made it easier for him to do well at the game, i.e. move the wooden figure far along the board. The subject's responses to these questions were recorded. The data for analysis of resistance to temptation consisted of the frequency with which the subject violated the rules of the game in order to increase the distance that the wooden figure could be moved. Both the nature and the frequency of the violation were recorded for each subject.

b. Discussion tasks. There were 3 tasks that were given to mother and child, each of which required that they engage in discussion in order to reach a consensus. In the first task, Object task, mother and child were separately shown 6 objects (a tea towel, a pot holder, a pair of salt and pepper shakers, a record, a marble game and, a pair of binoculars) and they were asked which one they would like to keep if they could keep one. The subject's response was recorded in each case and subsequently, mother and child were brought together at which time they were told that they could take home only one object. Mother and child were asked to discuss their prospective decision and to knock on the door when they had made their choice. The experimenter then left them alone and tape-recorded their conversation. Their joint decision was then recorded.

In the second task, Picture task, the experimenter showed mother

and child, separately, 8 slides consisting of photographs or 1 or 2 persons engaging in various activities. For example, in slide number 1, a young man was reading a piece of paper while sitting on a stair case and, in slide number 3, an elderly woman was standing beside a young girl. For each slide, the subject was shown 4 little stories each of which was approximately 2 or 3 sentences long. While any one of the stories could have described the events in the photograph, the experimenter explained that only one of the stories correctly described them. The subject's task was to choose the story that correctly described the events in the photograph. After mother and child had separately made their choices for each of the 8 slides, the experimenter brought them together and showed them the first 3 slides for which they had chosen different stories. Again, they were told that only one of the stories correctly described the events in the photograph and they were to decide jointly which one of the stories was the correct one. Once again, their discussion was tape-recorded.

In the third task, Card task, mother and child were separately shown 8 cards, each displaying 3 pictures which had been previously cut out of illustrated story magazines. The experimenter explained that the pictures told a story and after the subject had looked at them for a few minutes, the experimenter showed 4 additional pictures from the same story in the magazine and she asked the subject to choose the picture which was the correct ending to the story. After mother and child had independently made their choices for each of the 8 cards, the experimenter brought them together and showed them the first 3 cards on which mother and child had chosen different endings to the stories. They were reminded that there was only one correct

ending for each story and their task was to decide which one it was. As before, their discussion was tape-recorded.

3. Analysis of Maternal Verbal Communication

The tape-recorded conversations between mother and child for the 3 tasks were transcribed and coded according to the rules put forth in the manual Verbal Exchange Analysis (8). The data for analysis consisted of the frequency with which the mother used utterances within the various categories. For each of the 3 tasks, the number of utterances in each category was converted to a proportion of the total number of utterances for that subject. This computation was carried out for each subject. t-tests were then carried out on the mean proportion of utterances in each category for each task for the following comparison groups: a) Italian versus Canadian mothers of girls and, b) Italian versus Canadian mothers of boys.

C. RESULTS

1. Resistance to Temptation

The frequency with which the subject violated the rules of the game, or cheated, in order to increase the distance that the wooden figure could be moved, constituted the measure of resistance to temptation used in this study. While subjects could cheat in one or more of 8 different ways, there was no relationship between the nature of the violation and either sex or ethnicity of the child. Therefore, the frequency of total cheating was computed for each subject and t-tests were performed on comparisons of mean frequency of cheating between Italian and Canadian boys and between Italian and Canadian girls (see Table 1). The results show that Italian boys cheated

Insert Table 1 about here

significantly less than Canadian boys. There was no difference in the frequency of cheating observed between Canadian and Italian girls, nor were there any differences in frequency of cheating between boys and girls for either ethnic group.

The results of correlations between the number of steps the subject thought he could move the wooden figure (level of aspiration) and, the extent to which he cheated, indicated no significant relationship between these 2 variables for either Italian or Canadian boys or girls. The results of additional correlations showed no significant relationship between the sum of the numbers that the subject obtained after throwing the die 10 times and, the frequency with which the subject cheated. When the subjects were asked in the postexperimental inquiry if they had done anything which had made it easier to play the game, none of them who had cheated told the experimenter that they had done so. Instead, the subject typically responded that he had obtained high numbers by throwing the die in different ways: e.g. by twisting his wrist in a certain way before rolling the die, or shaking the die a few times before throwing it, etc.

2. Results of Analysis of Maternal Verbal Communication

Table 2 shows the t values for comparisons of mean frequency of utterances in verbal categories between Italian and Canadian mothers of boys.

Insert Table 2 about here

Italian mothers as compared to Canadian mothers used more demands, both imperatives and requests for orientation, in addressing their sons. Particularly, Italian mothers used more direct imperatives and requests for

information or evaluation. Canadian mothers, on the other hand, used more requests for justification. Canadian mothers of boys also used more justifications in the form of concrete appeals in conversing with their sons than did Italian mothers of boys.

Table 3 shows the t values for comparisons of mean frequency of utterances in verbal categories between Italian and Canadian mothers of girls.

Insert Table 3 about here

Italian mothers of girls used more demands, particularly more direct imperatives than did Canadian mothers of girls. Canadian mothers, on the other hand, used more indirect imperatives than did Italian mothers of girls. Italian mothers as compared to Canadian mothers of girls made more requests for orientation in the form of requests for information or evaluation. Canadian mothers, as compared to Italian mothers of girls, made more requests for justification as well as more justifications (concrete appeals).

There were no differences in the extent to which mothers of girls and mothers of boys used demands or justifications within either of the 2 ethnic groups.

3. Parental Control and Resistance to Temptation

The results of correlations between frequency of cheating and extent of parental control, as assessed by the C scale, showed that for Italian and Canadian girls only, higher frequencies of cheating were associated with less parental control. For Canadian girls, there was a negative correlation between frequency of cheating and perceived maternal negative control ($r=-.673$, $df=13$, $p<.01$). For Italian girls, there was a negative

correlation between the frequency of cheating and perceived paternal positive control ($r=-.646$, $df=13$, $p<.01$).

D. DISCUSSION

The results of this study showed that, among boys, resistance to temptation as well as patterns of maternal verbal communication varied differentially with ethnicity. Italian boys age 9 and 10 were less likely to cheat and thereby demonstrated greater resistance to temptation than Canadian boys of the same age. While it might be argued that a subject's frequency of cheating is a function of his motivation to do well at the game (19), the results of this study yielded no evidence to support this hypothesis. Further, the results provide evidence that cheating did not vary differentially with the subject's actual score after throwing the die 10 times. The nature of the discussion tasks provided the mother with the opportunity to exert authority over the child. Results of the analysis of maternal verbal communication during these tasks suggest that Italian mothers, as compared to Canadian mothers, were more authoritarian and restrictive in their communication with their sons. This interpretation is based on 2 consistent findings: first, Italian mothers tended to use imperatives to a greater degree than Canadian mothers and, secondly, Italian mothers were less likely to use justifications in communicating with their children. So, in proposing a course of action to the child, the Italian mother tended not to offer him a rationale for the proposed action but simply commanded him to do something. These findings are in line with previously-cited results which suggest that Italian mothers tend to be relatively more authoritarian in dealing with their children than North American mothers (20), while at the same time showing quite specifically the way in which they exert their

authority over the child. Canadian mothers, on the other hand, tended to rely more heavily on authority that is task-oriented. That is, Canadian mothers tended to use more requests for justification as well as more justifications in the form of appeals. So, in her verbal communication with the child, the Canadian mother was more likely to take into account the child's own reasons for his preferred response as well as to explain her own reasons for wanting the child to respond in a particular way. These results suggest that, among boys, resistance to temptation is positively associated with restrictive and authoritative maternal patterns of communication and, negatively associated with use of reason by the mother. These findings are in line with those of earlier studies which report that resistance to temptation is positively associated with restrictive discipline (4, 6, 27, 29) and negatively associated with use of reason (6, 17).

Among girls, resistance to temptation did not vary differentially with ethnicity. Results of the analysis of maternal verbal communication with girls suggest that both the Italian and the Canadian mother were relatively restrictive and authoritarian in their communication with their daughters. Italian mothers as compared to Canadian mothers used more direct imperatives in addressing their daughters. In contrast to Canadian mothers of boys, Canadian mothers of girls made greater use of indirect imperatives than did Italian mothers of girls. Further, Canadian mothers as compared to Italian mothers of girls appeared to rely more on reason in asserting their authority over their daughters. The fact that Canadian and Italian girls did not differ in their resistance to temptation may be due to the relatively high restrictiveness associated with disciplinary practices employed by both Italian and Canadian mothers.

While Italian mothers appeared to rely more heavily than Canadian mothers on unconditional directives, they also appeared to rely to a greater extent on requests for orientation, particularly for information or evaluation. It may be that the Italian mother is more dependent on the child for support and direction in a situation which is alien to her. Further, the relatively high incidence of imperatives among Italian mothers may represent an offensive mode of responding that is the outcome of her feelings of insecurity and dependence on the child. The Canadian mother's predilection for use of justifications may simply reflect her greater ability to deal with hypothetical situations as a result of her relatively greater education than that of the Italian mother whose education lasted typically 4 years.

There was evidence, among girls, that suggests that highly controlling, or restrictive discipline was positively associated with resistance to temptation. Results of correlations between extent of cheating and extent and kind of parental control as perceived by the daughter indicates that, for Canadian girls, resistance to temptation was associated with high maternal negative control. That is, the less the girl cheated, the more she perceived her mother as placing limitations or restrictions on her activities. Among Italian girls, the less they cheated, the more they perceived their fathers as encouraging them to feel some responsibility toward some positively defined goal. The evidence suggests that resistance to temptation is positively related to the daughter's perception that the parent is exerting some control over her behavior. The results further suggest that, in the Canadian family, the daughter perceives the mother as the primary agent controlling her behavior and, that in the Italian family, it is the father who

is perceived by the daughter as occupying this role.

The results show that resistance to temptation did not vary with sex of the child within each ethnic group. These findings are in line with results of earlier studies which report that girls and boys did not differ in resistance to temptation (6, 13, 28). The present study yielded no evidence that the verbal categories of verbal interaction used by mothers differed in accordance with the sex of the child.

The findings of this study lend support to the hypothesis that resistance to temptation is associated with a relatively high degree of control or restrictiveness on the part of the parent, while at the same time demonstrating the way in which this control may be exerted by the mother in her communication with the child.

E. SUMMARY

An experiment using 62 mother-child pairs as subjects examined the relationship between resistance to temptation and maternal verbal communication, within Italian and Canadian families. Direct observation was employed to assess a) the child's resistance to temptation while playing a game and, b) maternal verbal communication during 3 discussion tasks, in which mother and child were required to reach a consensus. The results showed that resistance to temptation was greater in Italian than in Canadian boys. Italian mothers, as compared to Canadian mothers, appeared to be more controlling and restrictive in their communication with their sons. While there was no significant difference in resistance to temptation between Italian and Canadian girls, resistance to temptation among girls was positively associated with a relatively high degree of control by the parent.

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FOOTNOTES

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2. Requests for reprints should be sent to Esther R. Greenglass, Department of Psychology, York University, 4700 Keele St., Downsview, Ontario, Canada.

3. Alberoni and Baglioni (1) suggest that the observed differences in values held by Italians who live in the north of Italy and those who live in the south of Italy is attributable to urban versus rural differences - with south Italians typically living in rural areas and north Italians in urban areas.

4. Acknowledgment is due to the Canadian Junior Red Cross who donated the Mobile Laboratory to York University.

5. Responses to temptation may be a function not only of the strength of the prohibitions against performing a deviant act and yielding to the temptation, but also of the strength of the motivation to attain the gratification itself. It may be that the degree to which the subject cheats depends in part on the strength of his motivation to succeed at the game and achieve the desired rewards (19). In the present study, the subject's motivation to succeed was assessed by asking him how many steps he thought he could move the wooden figure (level of aspiration). The extent to which the subject's level of aspiration contributed to frequency of cheating was subsequently determined.

6. It is conceivable that subjects who obtained low numbers on the first 10 throws of the die would cheat more than subjects who obtained higher

numbers. In order to assess the effects of this variable on extent of cheating, the sum of the numbers that the subject obtained on the first 10 throws of the die was correlated with the frequency with which the subject cheated.

TABLE 1

MEANS OF FREQUENCIES OF CHEATING FOR ITALIAN AND CANADIAN BOYS AND GIRLS AND t TESTS BETWEEN MEANS FOR ITALIAN AND CANADIAN BOYS AND ITALIAN AND CANADIAN GIRLS

Comparison group	N	M	t
Italian boys	17	1.18	2.43*
Canadian boys	15	3.53	
Italian girls	15	1.67	.78
Canadian girls	15	2.60	

*p<.05

TABLE 2

t VALUES FOR COMPARISONS OF MEAN FREQUENCY OF UTTERANCES IN VERBAL CATEGORIES BETWEEN ITALIAN AND CANADIAN MOTHERS OF BOYS[a]

Category	Object task	Picture task	Card task
1. Demands[b]	N.S.	2.96**	3.29**
2. Imperatives[b]	N.S.	2.55*	N.S.
3. Direct Imperatives[b]	N.S.	3.02**	N.S.
4. Requests for Orientation[b]	N.S.	2.32*	3.29**
5. Requests for Information or Evaluation[b]	N.S.	3.37**	3.51**
6. Requests for Justification[c]	N.S.	2.43*	N.S.
7. Justifications[c]	2.23*	3.80***	3.55**
8. Concrete Appeals[c]	2.59*	3.91***	3.45**

a df=30

b Italian>Canadian

c Canadian>Italian

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

TABLE 3

t VALUES FOR COMPARISONS OF MEAN FREQUENCY OF UTTERANCES IN VERBAL CATEGORIES BETWEEN ITALIAN AND CANADIAN MOTHERS OF GIRLS[a]

Category	Object task	Picture task	Card task
1. Demands[b]	N.S.	2.20*	N.S.
2. Direct Imperatives[b]	N.S.	2.09*	N.S.
3. Indirect Imperatives[c]	2.09*	N.S.	N.S.
4. Requests for Orientation[b]	N.S.	2.87**	N.S.
5. Requests for Information or Evaluation[b]	N.S.	3.40**	N.S.
6. Requests for Justifications[c]	N.S.	2.91**	N.S.
7. Justifications[c]	N.S.	2.14*	3.77***
8. Concrete Appeals[c]	N.S.	2.30*	3.89***

a df=28

b Italian>Canadian

c Canadian>Italian

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001